## Message Text

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**ACTION EUR-12** 

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 AGR-05 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00

EB-07 FRB-03 H-02 INR-07 INT-05 L-03 LAB-04 NSAE-00

NSC-05 PA-01 AID-05 CIEP-01 SS-15 STR-04 TAR-01

TRSE-00 USIA-06 PRS-01 SP-02 OMB-01 FEA-01 SAJ-01

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R 171049Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3715

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

US MISSION USEC BRUSSELS 234

US MISSION NATO 646

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 BUDAPEST 2251

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ECIN, COMECON, EGEN, HU

SUBJECT: HUNGARY AND CEMA PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE

REFS: MOSCOW 9316, BUCHAREST 3106 AND BUCHAREST 3202

1. SUMMARY: CEMA PRIME MINISTERS' CONFERENCE ON JUNE 24-26 PROVIDED HUNGARY WITH OPPORTUNITY TO SECURE PUBLIC COMMITMENT FROM SOVIETS ASSURING CONTINUED SUPPLIES OF ENERGY RESOURCES AND OTHER RAW MATERIAL. IN RETURN HUNGARIANS PROMISED TO STEP UP PARTICIPATION IN CEMA INTEGRATION PROJECTS AND TO INCREASE THEIR INVESTMENT IN RAW MATERIALS EXTRACTION PROJECTS IN USSR. BUDAPEST'S SEVERE CONFIDENTIAL

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AND DEEPENING BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DEFICIT WITH WEST, COUPLED WITH "IMPORTED" PRICE INCREASES, PARTICULARLY IN OIL

COSTS, CLOUDS AND COUNTRY'S ECONOMIC FUTURE; AND THE LEADER-SHIP STARING AT THOSE THURDERHEADS HAS EVIDENTLY DECIDED THAT IT HAS NO CHOICE: IT MUST RELY EVEN MORE HEAVILY ON THE SOVIET UNION AND OTHER EAST EUR PEAN TRADE PARTNERS

GROWTH OF TRADE WITH WEST WILL PROBABLY MODERATE OVER NEXT FEW YEARS. TOP PARTY AND SENIOR GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS ARE MAKING MAJOR EFFORT TO EDUCATE HUNGARIAN PEOPLE-- WITHOUT FRIGHTENING THEM--TO DIMENSIONS OF ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES NOW BESETTING THE COUNTRY; THUS FAR, HOWEVER, THEY HAVE REFUSED IN THEIR PUBLIC STATEMENTS TO ABANDON AMBITIOUS ECONOMIC GOALS OR EVEN TO ADMIT EXTENT OF CONSUMER PRICE INCREASES UNDER CONSIDERATION. CEMA CONFERENCE CAME AT MOST OPPORTUNE TIME FOR SOVIETS SINCE PRESENT ECONOMIC REALITIES AND FORBODING FUTURE ARE COMPELLING HUNGARY TO SUPPORT MORE INTEGRATION, MORE SPECIALIZATION AND CLOSER ECONOMIC COLLABORATION WITH MOSCOW. END SUMMARY.

2. BUDAPEST CONFERENCE OF CEMA PRIME MINISTERS CAME AT AWKWARD TIME FOR HUNGARIANS. UNPLANNED AND UNMANAGEABLE OUTSIDE FORCES THREATEN TO ARREST HIGH GROWTH RATES IN INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, AND EVEN MORE IMPORTANT, TO FREEZE OR EVEN CONCEIVABLY ERODE LIVING STANDARDS. "IMPORTED" INFLATION FROM WEST NOW FINDS IT REINFORCING COUNTERPART IN HIGHER PRICES WHICH SOVIETS CHARGING FOR THEIR GOODS, PARTICULARLY OIL. WITH 40 PERCENT OF NATIONAL GNP DERIVED FROM FOREIGN TRADE, AND WITH NO RAW MATERIAL BASE OF THEIR OWN, HUNGARIAN PARTY AND GOVERNMENT LEADERS FIND THEMSELVES IN AN EAST/WEST EMBRACE THAT REALLY HURTS. HUNGARY MUST NOW EXPORT AN EVEN GREATER VOLUME OF GOODS TO PAY FOR ITS IMPORTS. A DIFFICULT PROPOSITION FOR A COUNTRY WHICH HAS TO BRING IN THE RAW MATERIAL IN ORDER TO INCREASE ITS DELIVERIES OF DOMESTIC PRODUCTS. CURRENT TRADE DEFICIT WITH WEST IS FUNNING AT MORE THAN DOUBLE 1974 RATE OF \$600 MILLION. SINCE PRICES OF HUNGARIAN PRODUCTS HAVE NOT RISEN IN PROPORTION TO SOVIET OIL PRICE BOOSTS, IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT HUNGARY IN THE NEAR FUTURE WILL FIND ITSELF OBLIGED TO DIVERT EASTWARD GOODS WHICH IN NORMAL TIMES WOULD HAVE GONE WEST TO EARN HARD CURRENCY.

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3. PRESSURE ON DOMESTIC PRICES CONTINUES TO BUILD. OVER ONE-THIRD OF PRESENT NATIONAL BUDGET GOES TO PRICE SUPPORTS-CIRCUMSTANCE INCREASINGLY CRITICIZED BY GOVERNMENT ECONOMISTS AS DETRIMENTAL TO LONG-TERM PLANNING ON INVESTMENTS. WHILE GOH HAS ALREADY ANNOUNCED SOME PRICE INCREASES IN PRODUCER AND CONSUMER GOODS, IT IS NOW CLEAR THAT TOP LEADERSHIP IS WEIGHING POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF BOOSTING PRICES ON SOME PRODUCTS AGAIN PERHAPS BY A 10 TO 15 PERCENT MARGIN.

WHEN THE USSR BOOSTED 1975 OIL PRICES, HUNGARY SUFFERED

## SOME ECONOMIC PANGS; BUT THE LACK OF AN ASSURED SUPPLY

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NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 AID-05 CIEP-01 SS-15 STR-04

TAR-01 TRSE-00 USIA-06 PRS-01 SP-02 OMB-01 SAJ-01

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R 171049Z JUL 75

FM AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3716

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

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AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

US MISSION USEC BRUSSELS 235

US MISSION NATO 647

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BUDAPEST 2251

OF PETROLEUM AND OTHER RAW MATERIALS NEEDED BY BOTH INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE CAUFF

SBUDAPEST'S ECONOMIC

PLANNERS ACUTE ANXIETY. JENO FOCK, ACCORDING TO WELL-INFORMED OBSERVERS HERE, LEFT THE PREMIER'S OFFICE SOONER THAN EXPECTED BECAUSE HE VOICED STRONG CRITICISM OF SOVIETS OVER PRICE AND SUPPLY UNCERTAINTIES. FIRST SECRETARY KADAR AND PREMIER LAZAR HAVE NOW EMBARKED ON PROGRAM TO CONVINCE THEIR COUNTRYMEN THAT HUNGARIANS MUST MAKE GREATER

SACRIFICES IF NATION IS TO ATTAIN ITS AMBITIOUS AND

WIDELY-HERALDED ECONOMIC GOALS.

5. BY LATE JUNE WHEN CEMA CONFERENCE GOT UNDER WAY, CONFIDENTIAL CONFIDENTIAL

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LEADERSHIP WAS WELL AWARE OF HUNGARY'S ECONOMIC PLIGHT. FIRST TASK WAS TO SECURE LONG-TERM COMMITMENT FROM SOVIETS ON ASSURED DELIVERIES OF RAW MATERIALS; AND SECONDLY CORRESPONDING LONG-TERM CREDITS TO COMPENSATE FOR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS DIFFICULTIES. PRESENCE OF KOSYGIN AND FADEYEV AT CONFERENCE PROVIDED HUNGARIANS WITH OPPORTUNITY TO PRESENT THEIR CASE IN HIGH-LEVEL, MULTILATERAL FORUM BEFORE ANY OTHER CEMA LEADER COULD VOICE HIS PETITIONS, PROPOSALS, OR PLANS. AND PRIME MINISTER LAZAR AS KEYNOTER SAID IT ALL IN HIS OPENING ADDRESS.

- 6. IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS AND IN PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS
  (AS EMBASSY HAS SINCE LEARNED) SOVIETS GAVE HUNGARIANS
  WHAT THEY SOUGHT. KOSYGIN TOLD CONFERENCE DELEGATES
  THAT "SOVIET UNION NOT ONLY ENSURES AN EXTRA SUPPLY OF
  MAJOR RAW MATERIALS ON A LONG-TERM BASIS, BUT ALSO IS
  PREPARED TO MAKE CERTAIN CHANGES IN THE STRUCTURE OF ITS
  NATIONAL ECONOMY IN ORDER TO INCREASE THE SHARE OF RAW
  MATERIALS INDUSTRIES WITH AN EYE TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF
  THE OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES." IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION,
  FADEYEV REPEATED ABOVE STATEMENT TO AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR
  HERE AND ADDED THAT "HUNGARY WOULD GET WHATEVER FINANCIAL
  ASSISTANCE IT REQUIRED."
- 7. GOHNGPPEARS WELL SATISFIED WITH SOVIET ASSURANCES ON RAW MATERIALS DELIVERIES; BUT THE NEW OBLIGATION TO INVEST MORE HEAVILY IN JOINT CEMA PROJECTS CONSTITUTES A SIZEABLE LIEN ON A SMALL NATION WHICH FINDS IT INCREASINGLY DIFFICULT TO GENERATE SUFFICIENT CAPITAL TO MODERNIZE AND EXPAND DOMESTIC PLANTS. PRECISELY HOW MUCH OF THE 9 MILLION ROUBLE JOINT CEMA INVESTMENT COMES FROM HUNGARY, ONE CANNOT YET ESTABLISH.
- 8. CONFERENCE COMMUNIQUE AND PUBLISHED REPORTS HAVE YIELDED FEW SPECIFICS ABOUT CEMA INTEGRATION AND SPECIALIZATION. TRADITIONALLY HUNGARIANS WERE WARY OF SUCH PROPOSALS LEST THEY SPECIALIZE THEMSELVES OUT OF PROFITABLE WESTERN MARKETS WHICH ALSO YIELDED HARD FOREIGN EXCHANGE. ALSO THEY SAW NO NATIONAL BENEFIT WHATEVER IN ALLOWING CEMA-EEC LINKS TO REPLACE THEIR OWN CONFIDENTIAL

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BILATERAL TRADING WITH INDIVIDUAL CAPITALISTIC COUNTRIES. BUT RICKETING INFLATION IN THE WEST AND IMPOSITION OF

HURTFUL TRADE BARRIERS, SUCH AS EEC'S BEEF IMPORT BAN,
HAVE CAUSED SOME OF MORE LIBERAL HUNGARIAN ECONOMISTS AND
INNOVATIVE MAGYAR TRADERS WHO ESPOUSED CLOSER AND EXPANDED
ECONOMIC TIES WITH WEST TO ENGAGE IN SOME SERIOUS RE-THINKING;
AND HAVE SILENCED THE REST. MOSCOW'S REFUSAL TO ACCEPT
EMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS IN 1974 TRADE BILL COVERING MFN
WHICH BUDAPEST'S POLITICAL LEADERSHIP PROMPTLY CARGONCOPIED, DISHEARTENED SCORES OF INFLUENTIAL HUNGARIANS
AO COVET THE AMERICAN MARKET AND HAD ACALLY COU,5ED
ON GREATLY EXPANDED TWO-WAY TRADE WITH THE TECHNOLOGICALLY
ADVANCED U.S.

9. HUNGARY IS IN A CATCH-22 SITUATION. IT MUST EXPORT MORE EASTWARD TO COVER HIGHER RAW MATERIALS PRICES. AS IT DOES SO, IT RISKS AN EVEN MORE SEVERE DETERIORATION IN ITS TERMS OF TRADE WITH WESTERN EUROPE, NORTH AMERICA AND REST OF CAPITALIST WORLD. OVER LONG RUN, HOWEVER, HUNGARY MUST INCREASE ITS EXPORTS TO THE NONGCEMA WORLD IN ORDER TO EARN THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE TO MODERNIZE PLANT AND EQUIPMENT AND THEREBY REMAIN COMPETITIVE IN BOTH MARKETS.

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## Message Attributes

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